

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

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2d.

DEMAND PEACE ACTION!

*P.P.U. Home for
Basque Children*

*"Can be Done if We Will Give
Greater Loyalty to
this Work"*

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

WE believe that our policy is the only policy which can put an end to war," said Wilfred Wellock, presiding over the second of the series of area conventions—which took place in the Central Hall, Birmingham, last weekend—held by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group. That policy he summed up in three claims:

1. That the nature of modern warfare renders "war" and "civilization" incompatible terms, and that pacifism is the primary necessity of the age.
 2. That war is war, and is to be condemned under whatever name it be waged.
 3. That the road to peace lies through constructive action and disarmament; through justice, generosity, and good will.
- "It is in order that action may be taken along these lines—and soon—that this convention is called."

(Text of resolutions on page 2)

THE importance of the first resolution—renunciation of war—which was carried unanimously, was stressed by the mover, Canon Stuart Morris. He pointed out that if they were ever to carry through the constructive programme outlined in the subsequent resolutions it could only be on the basis of the renunciation of war.

Seconding, Miss Mary Gamble declared that "if war is not the business of women, then I for one utterly fail to know what our business is."

In asking for "a new world conference"—the subject of the second motion—Lord Ponsonby said they did not want one like those that had been held before, such as the Disarmament Conference. Instead,

"we want a conference that is prepared—where the 'Haves' are ready for concessions."

Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., recalled that President Roosevelt had been asked to call the world conference and that, through several subordinates, he had intimated his willingness "if Britain is willing, favourable, and cordial to the proposal."

The convention indicated its determination to play its part in ensuring this condition by passing the resolution unanimously.

A STRONGER LEAGUE

What the third resolution meant by "strengthening the League of Nations" was well summed up by its mover, Henry Carter, when he said:

"The League of the future ought to be the architect of human welfare and human peace."

Speaking as a cooperator and a socialist, Mrs. Eleanor Barton pointed

out that sharing the abundance of the world's wealth meant real cooperation, which meant doing away with vested interests. They as individuals had to help to create the necessary public opinion.

This resolution began with a clause proposing that the League's authority should rest on "the moral influence of world public opinion rather than upon the armed coercion of 'collective security.'" But an amendment sought to provide for the failure of that influence by, "in the event of the outbreak of war, substituting 'collective neutrality' for 'collective security.'"

AMERICA'S LEAD

The mover of the amendment (which stood in the name of the Birmingham Fellowship of Reconciliation and Carr's Lane Pacifist Group) explained that the proposed policy followed the lines of America's neutrality policy, which provided that no belligerent should have loans, arms, or munitions, and that if they wanted food they would have to fetch it in their own ships and pay cash down.

With this explanation the movers were willing to leave the suggestion with the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, and the motion was passed, unamended, with some half-dozen dissentients.

A bigger problem faced the convention on the next resolution. Concerned to advocate total disarmament and the termination of military commitments, it sought to bring pressure upon "the Government" to put this policy into effect.

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

Powerfully, James Hudson urged that the pacifist movement could be effective in bringing about the change

in the Government's policy which would be necessary, adding:

"Don't let us forget that we have been effective in the past. What has been done in the past can be done again with greater effectiveness if we will give greater loyalty to this work."

But an amendment was successfully moved by the Birmingham F.O.R. and Carr's Lane Pacifist Group deprecating any attempt to persuade a non-pacifist government to take pacifist action. The prior creation of a public opinion in favour of such action was "more to the point."

SHADES OF KEIR HARDIE!

On a very high level was the case for a new political party charged with this task.

This was embodied in a second amendment—now presented by the Rev. Ingli James (Christian Pacifist Party) as an amendment to the new substantive resolution. Mr. James pointed out that if the present government would not disarm, neither would one formed by any other of the existing parties.

It was objected, he said, that the proposal would split the pacifist movement. But where would the Labour Party have been if Keir Hardie had listened to talk of that kind?

An impressive warning by James Hudson to those who belonged to political parties that they could not avoid "the very serious consequences of having to come out" of those political parties to support the new one resulted in the defeat of the amendment.

The convention then passed to the united acceptance of a resolution on conscription, moved by the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P.



THIS is the house in which the Peace Pledge Union is now caring for 53 child refugees from Spain. Mrs. Plowman, of the women's committee that is responsible, describes the need on page 4.

It is still great and urgent. Please send your contribution without delay to 96 Regent Street, London, W.1—but address clothes to "The Adelphi Centre," Langham, near Colchester, Essex.

A LETTER FROM DICK SHEPPARD

I DO so hope that hundreds of you are intending to come to our camp at Swanwick from July 30 to August 6.

If you can make your arrangements to be with us try to stay as long as possible. We are pressing all the Sponsors to come and our days should be really interesting. The recreation, sports, etc., ought to be great fun—as that is one of the departments of which I shall be in charge!

One thing seems quite clear: as many of us as possible must get together and think and talk over our constructive plans and, equally important, get to know one another. This latter is vastly important.

Do write in at once for application forms for the camp, or send in word to say that you will be

with us. You can bring the family, of course.

I know it is asking a great deal of some of you to spend your short holiday in camp at Swanwick, but I really believe that the vitality, and even the future, of our movement largely depend on that camp's being well attended.

There are all sorts of surprises that will keep the whole thing full of life!

Come along, if you possibly can, in your hundreds, and help to make our first Peace Pledge Union Camp something that we shall look back upon with thankfulness when the summer is over.

DICK SHEPPARD.

Lord Ponsonby on

THERE are a number of people working for the cause of pacifism whose names do not figure in capital letters and whose efforts are more or less concealed.

Among them are men and women organizers on whose labours the success of our demonstrations is due. It is no light work arranging to fill a large hall and to overcome the lack of press publicity by a broadcast distribution of leaflets.

There are other persistent spirits who in season and out of season

WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES

Reflections and Comments

Affairs in 1924 I introduced the procedure by which all treaties were submitted for parliamentary approval and so no commitment was made without the knowledge of Parliament.

When the Tory government came in they abolished this procedure.

THE Convention at Birmingham on Saturday, June 5, was very well attended.

The speeches were on a high level and except for a desire on the part of a few not to reform the League of Nations but to scrap it altogether there was enthusiastic unanimity among the audience in the afternoon session.

I was unable to stay for the evening session and there was great disappointment that "Dick" Sheppard was unable to come. I was secretly glad as I always am when I hear he has not undertaken an engagement.

If a list of his daily engagements were published, members of the P.P.U. would be amazed that any human being could get through what he does.

But they would be apprehensive at this astonishing expenditure of effort. I have no space to comment on the many effective speeches at Birmingham but I should like to pick out two—one from the platform and one from the floor of the hall.

MRS. ELEANOR BARTON was in particularly good

form. I liked very much her reference to dust bins as symbolic of cooperative effort as opposed to private neglect. A previous speaker having commented on the apathy of women, Mrs. Barton rejoined that "God had made women to match the men."

From the floor Joseph Southall thoroughly enjoyed himself. Often have he and I been at pacifist and socialist meetings together.

He can no longer claim to belong to any League of Youth. But youth being a matter of spirit not of years he appeared to me to be as youthful as the youngest.

He is always "agin" the platform and the scathing sarcasm he poured on the League of Nations was in his very best style. The audience enjoyed it, too.

I would add that the extraordinarily telling quotations Dr. Salter produced in support of the resolution I moved on the calling together of an international conference, ought to be reproduced and noted by our speakers. Cecil Wilson and H. Drinkwater, the expert local organizer, are to be congratulated on drawing some seven hundred delegates from the blazing sunshine of a June Saturday afternoon.

Arthur Ponsonby

Youth Finds its Common Task is Peace

TO commemorate its tenth anniversary Youth House decided to organize an exhibition at 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1, from June 14 to 19.

A number of student societies are participating, and at a recent meeting it was unanimously decided to make it a Youth Exhibition for Peace and Internationalism.

"This is a remarkable thing," said the organizer to PEACE NEWS, "because when we invited these societies in the first place no mention of peace was made. Then at the first meeting we discovered we were all working for the same end."

"It was only quite recently in this

hall that the St. Pancras Air Raid Precautions Officer said he had never felt more of a pacifist since he had taken on the job.

"We hope many more will say this when they come to our exhibition. We are trying to get away from the idea that peace is something dull, and there will be plenty of excitement during this week."

The exhibition will be opened on Monday by Mr. Garner Evans, followed on Tuesday by short talks by youth societies, on Wednesday a concert, on Thursday a play, on Friday films, and a garden party on Saturday at 3 p.m.

Admission to this exhibition, including all other entertainments, is 6d., and it will be open daily from 7 p.m. until 11 p.m.

Resolutions Passed by the Birmingham Pacifist Convention

THIS convention believes that the method of war can never bring lasting peace and security. War is a crime against humanity, and, to the Christian pacifist, a sin against God. It can never be justified whether conducted by a section of a nation, by a nation as a whole, by an alliance of nations or by the League of Nations. It therefore declares that it is the right of every citizen to renounce all participation in and preparation for war.

NEW WORLD CONFERENCE

This convention calls upon the British Government to summon a new world conference at which the economic and territorial grievances of nations may be examined, discussed, and settled by mutual adjustment, if necessary by definite sacrifices on the part of those nations which, like our own, control a large proportion of the natural resources of the earth.

It declares also in favour of the organization of the world's supply and exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs, on the basis of the equal rights of all nations, in place of the present trade restrictions.

STRENGTHENING THE LEAGUE

The convention declares that the League of Nations should be transformed and strengthened by:—

1. Founding the authority of the League on the moral influence of world public opinion rather than upon the armed coercion of "collective security" or of "an international police force."

2. Extending the League's powers of conciliation, and of securing treaty revision and agreed territorial change.

3. Applying the principle of international control to all undeveloped areas, and educating and training primitive peoples with a view to their self-government.

4. Devising a system of controlling

international land, sea, and air routes.

5. Establishing international machinery for a planned world production and distribution in the common interest of all peoples.

6. Enlarging the present humanitarian activities of the League.

DISARMAMENT

This convention, realizing that security cannot be attained by means of armaments, and further that a democratically elected government cannot be expected to sponsor a proposal for total disarmament which has not been approved by the electors, expresses its determination to create public opinion in favour of unilateral disarmament and the full application of pacifist principles in national and international life.

The convention further declares that it is the duty of all pacifists to urge upon the electorate the need for terminating all treaties and commitments with other Powers which might require this country to take part in military, naval, or air force operations of any kind.

CONSCRIPTION

This convention expresses its resolute and unalterable opposition to conscription, universal military service or compulsory training, and declares its determination to support those who feel a conscientious moral conviction to take no part in war or the preparations for war.

This convention demands the immediate repeal of the Incitement to Disaffection Act, considering it a gross infraction of the liberties of the subject.

The convention further believing that air raid "precautions" may be a first step toward military conscription and the militarization of the nation and will create a war psychology, strongly opposes such schemes and prefers to rely for defence upon removing the causes of war.

make plans for the more effective organization of the material we have in the different social, industrial, and political spheres which for lack of coordination might remain inarticulate.

To such a man the parliamentary pacifist group owes the special vitality it is now showing in the holding of pacifist conventions recently in Manchester, last week in Birmingham, and prospectively in London in September.

A remarkable meeting in the House of Commons about a year ago at which about fifty representatives of all sections of the peace movement were present started the ball rolling.

This also was largely due to the initiative of Cecil Wilson.

HE is member of Parliament for Attercliffe, a constituency in Sheffield which except in 1931 always returns him with a large majority.

For years he lived among the workers of the business with which he was connected, although he could well have afforded to live in the fashionable west-end of the city. The devotion of his constituents and the majorities they give him do not depend on glib platform oratory when he comes before them as candidate but on admiration for the personal rectitude of the man and the transparent integrity of a conscientious public servant.

He has always shunned the limelight because it is repulsive to his excessive modesty. He prefers to work behind the scenes and has a genius for overcoming apathy by his persistence.

If one plan fails he makes another and thinks nothing of the drudgery of himself issuing circulars, making lists, and doing all the minor and petty work which he knows is indispensable. When the plan succeeds he is quite ready that someone else shall get the credit.

He is a producer who from behind the scenes takes pleasure in seeing the chief actors receiving the bouquets.

HIS father was member of Parliament for Holmfirth elected in 1885.

I have reason to remember him. Soon after I entered Parliament I began to interest myself in the dangers of secret diplomacy because I suspected that entanglements existed with foreign countries which were unknown to us yet might involve us in war.

I wrote and spoke on the subject and a meeting was arranged for me at a club which existed at that time known as the New Reform Club. To my surprise and pleasure Mr. Henry J. Wilson suggested taking the chair.

He was a tall dignified man with grey whiskers, with the same modesty as his son, working quietly and with deep conviction to bring a spirit of conciliation into international affairs and to expose the intrigues which might draw us into war.

His presence in the chair gave the meeting publicity and I was well reported. When I was under-Secretary for Foreign

"Sit-Down" Strikes Not Non-Violent Action?

AMERICAN PACIFISTS' VIEW

"THE sit-down strikes as they have been conducted in the United States are far from fully exemplifying the spirit of non-violence," declares a statement on "The Sit-Down Technique" adopted by the Council of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, which adds that there is far too much readiness on the part of strikers to resort to violence, when this appears "necessary" and likely to produce "results."

Further points from this important statement, published in *Fellowship*, journal of the American F.O.R., are given below.

WE are convinced that speedy and general recognition of unionism and acceptance of the policy of collective bargaining by American industrial leaders would put an end to the epidemic of sit-down strikes. In the long run no other policy will bring stabilization of labour relationships and a substantial measure of industrial peace.

The attempt to meet and solve the sit-down problem on the basis of legal technicality or in a spirit of hysterical denunciation can end only in disaster. **Until we understand that a new social problem born out of new facts and relationships in industry is before us, the country will not go far toward solving the current industrial situation.**

We believe that it is likely to prove easier to prevent open violence in connexion with the sit-down than in connexion with the more common forms of picketing.

We note with satisfaction the high degree of discipline which sit-down

strikers have imposed upon themselves and the scrupulous care of property which they have exercised.

It is our earnest prayer that excesses on the part of labour at this critical hour may not develop to give an excuse to elements which might seek to institute fascist measures in the United States.

VIOLENCE NO SOLUTION

Unhesitatingly, however, we deprecate any attempt on the part of public authorities or of private individuals or organizations to solve the sit-down problem by violence and bloodshed.

It is the spirit of domination, will to power, violence—trust at last in the sword rather than in reason and love, in the power to hurt rather than the power of sacrifice—which characterizes all of us in all our relationships.

There is a better way. There is a power in the spirit, symbolized by the Cross, which suffers for a cause but will not inflict suffering, a power in non-violent resistance, greater than all other power.

Only Way to Save Democracy

"The way to save democracy for us is to keep it intact in the United States, prevent our democracy from turning into a war-time dictatorship, conserve its resources for the benefit not only of our own people but of all peoples after hostilities have ceased."

So writes Oswald Garrison Villard in the *New York Nation*, explaining why he won't support America coming to the help of Great Britain in a war to save democracy.

The excuse for England was Belgium, but we know very well now that the compelling reason was the desire of the controlling class in democratic England to smash the German navy and eliminate a dangerous economic competitor. Even Woodrow Wilson admitted that the origins of the war were purely commercial.

Miss Kathleen Courtney of the Women's Peace Crusade will leave early in July for New York, from where she will fly to Vancouver, British Columbia, to be one of the special speakers at the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference being held there on July 12.

Youth to Unite for Peace

Two special boats on August 8 and 14 will carry representatives of British youth to France, where they will visit the Paris world exhibition and the international camp at Bierville (August 8 to 23).

They will also take part in the International Youth Peace Day on August 15 organized by the World Youth Congress Movement. The French section of the movement is forming committees of welcome in the principal frontier towns and ports of France.

A PAWN IN THE PACIFIC

"Although many foreign observers see in the approaching independence of the Philippines eventual and inevitable control by Japan, there are as yet no particularly alarming evidences of Japanese penetration," according to the *Far Eastern Survey*.

In 1935 and 1936 only 14 percent of Philippine imports came from Japan, and 6 percent of their exports went to Japan.

ELTHAM HILL SCHOOL

Dorothy Brydon was the seconder of the motion in favour of pacifism at the recent debate at Eltham Hill Secondary School and not, as reported in our May 29 issue, the opposer. The motion was opposed by Dorothy Forbes.

ANTI-MILITARISM IN ITALY

Can Violence Be Banished from Spain?

From Our Special Correspondent

CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

A MADRID paper quotes *La Voz Valenciana*, a Left Republican organ, as commenting on the recent ministerial crisis in the following terms.

"The old intolerance which was the cause of so many of our national misfortunes must be repressed. A new force is making itself felt: it imposes a sense of responsibility on anti-fascist policy and the recognition of its own mistakes on every party and organization, for they have all made mistakes."

"But, when disloyalty is brought to light, it must be dealt with rigorously. **One other thing is imperative. Violence must be banished.** In a word, our policy must be one of tolerance, of understanding, of energy."

For the mouthpiece of a political party in the throes of an internal upheaval during a civil war, this strikes one as being remarkably enlightened. Of course it is an appeal for unity in face of a common enemy.

But the terminology is such as to give ground for hope that, once hostilities have ceased, these sentiments of moderation may extend beyond the frontier.

Spain a Cause of Unrest

CHURCHES CRITICAL

STRIKING information about the present stability of the fascist regime in Italy was given by Italians at a recent conference in Filzbach, Switzerland, held with the purpose of effecting a personal contact between the Italian friends of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and those of Switzerland, France, and Austria.

Great unrest was being caused, said these Italians, by economic misery, and the Spanish policy of the Government. There was an increase in subversive propaganda, especially among the working classes.

ANTI-MILITARISM

On the other hand the fascist machine was perhaps powerful enough to crush a good deal more opposition before breaking.

One Italian representative had brought with him copies of a tract being circulated among workers in a certain Mediterranean port. Though probably issued by communists, it contained nothing but fearless and resolute anti-militarism.

During aerial "defence" trials in several large towns, so many of these anti-militarist tracts were distributed under cover of darkness, that the trials had to be discontinued.

In protestant churches, too, disapproval of fascist policy was strong, though, in order to remain in existence these churches refrained from open criticism.

Generosity . . .

He who would give must have a store from which to give.

There is no better way of gaining that store than the way of the St. Pancras Building Society, investment in which confers the incomparable benefits of safety, availability, and generous yield.

The Secretary will be pleased to send a copy of the Investment Prospectus giving full particulars of the £10 Preference Shares now yielding 4% free of tax.

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
3 WIGMORE PLACE, W.1

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

"If they want me next time they'll have to fetch me." That was what the working man was saying in 1919. Millions of working men are of the same mind today. Why then are they not signatories of the Peace Pledge? Why are they waiting to be fetched?

Socialists as a body were more clearly opposed to war in 1914 than they are today. But they were fetched all right. For the most part they went into the trenches as I did, "in defence of Belgium," "to fight for democracy," "to crush German militarism," even to get out of the way of girls with white feathers. The more intelligent weighed up the measure of democratic government in this country against the military autocracy of the Central Powers and decided that they had better fight for what they had got than submit to what might come if Germany won the war. In short they failed to take an international view of the situation. And the German Social Democrats did just the same. They knew that British Imperialism had got the clinch on German expansion, and they saw themselves doomed to worse poverty and worse oppression if Germany lost the war. And they got both.

Here we are in 1937, and in every material detail the situation is the same as it was in 1914, only aggravated. The Socialist parties in this country now live in fear and hatred of German Fascism. They weigh up the measure of democratic government still obtaining here against the military autocracies of Germany and Italy, believing they can help to bring about Socialism by crying no quarter with Fascism. They still fail to take an international view of the situation, it being considered pacifist apologetics to examine the deep-seated reasons why Italy and Germany went Fascist, or to discover in the mitigation of those causes the way to revive democracy in both countries.

And can you expect the British working man to take an international view of the situation now? The fact is you can not. In a world of armed national powers, he lives the prey of ambitions that never enter his head or come within the purview of his strictly localized life. How then is he to be saved from being fetched like cannon fodder off a dump? Only by the appeal to his inherent, if latent, sense of right and wrong: only by bringing him to understand that the next war **must** be war on women and children, as it has been in Spain. Only by showing him quite clearly that **ALL** armament-making is in itself a sin and a crime against mankind irrespective of nationality.

Plain as a pikestaff stands the fact that this is the Church's job. A Church that cannot tell its members that modern war, in all its manifest infamy, is a sinful activity may have some function, but its moral purpose is not evident to the plain man. Even so, though the Church cannot or will not dare to do the job, it must not remain undone. Let us step into the spiritual breach.

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

A MOST successful garden party has just been held by Bexleyheath. The sun shone, the garden was at its best and 150 members turned up to support the hard work put in by the committee. We began with a few speeches of welcome after which there was a display of morris dancing on the lawn by some of the women members. It is part of the normal training for peace undertaken by the group and a class is held every Friday night to which all are invited. Refreshments, bookstalls, games for the children, and a treasure hunt had all been arranged and everyone made a point of meeting everyone else. Finally at 5.45 p.m. a meeting was held to show what is being done by the group and to discuss future activities. Mr. M. J. Goodchild outlined the educational programme being undertaken which is in the form of study circles and the subjects are:—

1. The nature of modern warfare.
2. The prevention of war.
3. The technique of passive resistance, and
4. The eradication of war.

I would like to congratulate Mr. Roach and his committee on the success of the whole day and for giving me a "day out"—it did me good!

Plaistow has decided to be a "working group." It only began a few weeks ago and has already put PEACE NEWS in each of the four libraries, obtained a pitch for selling it each week in Barking Road, arranged for the whole list of signatories to be visited so that in one month everyone in Plaistow who has joined the Peace Pledge Union will have made contact with the committee, and finally all churches are being visited to find out what support can be expected from them. Anyone living in Plaistow is asked to get in touch with Mr. W. J. Scott, 21 Grant Street, London, E.13.

Since my "appeal" to Scotland to be up and doing, two long reports have come from Edinburgh and Dundee. I knew they would soon be getting back at me and Dundee warns me that if the South does not look out, the Peace Pledge Union will find Scotland in the front. The cryptic message runs "watch our smoke."

New groups have started at Abingdon and Eastleigh and as both are in areas which have regional secretaries their growth should be rapid and certain. Skegness will be more bracing than ever this year, if the members in this area will write to Mr. Goldsborough, 55 Alexandria Road, Skegness, who is hoping to form a group there. Sidcup has had its first public meeting and two good speakers, Canon Morris and Miss Thorneycroft, helped. The results are already being felt and it has been most encouraging. Both the speakers asked me to thank the chairman who so nobly drove them back to Charing Cross after the meeting.

All arrangements for the camp at Swanwick are completed and a good programme is being drawn up. It only needs your cooperation to make it a great success.

Please send for application forms at once so that space may be reserved for members of your group wishing to come.

Will you please let me know what arrangements you have made for holding open-air meetings in your

The Notice Board

The office at 96 Regent Street will be open every evening until 7 o'clock only during the summer months.

Volunteers wanted for **Hendon Air Pageant**. Full details from Nigel Spottiswoode, P.P.U. Headquarters, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Tottenham group want **volunteers** to act as sandwich board men and leaflet distributors for poster parade on June 26 through streets of Tottenham. Those willing to help please write Mr. Dash, 133 Rosebery Avenue, London, N.17.

district? We confidently expect to hear that each group in the country is holding a weekly meeting during June, July, and August.

Sacrifice everything in this drive for peace and with your help we can change public opinion.

PEACE STICKERS

PROPAGATING peace by means of sticking special stamps containing a short message on to each envelope sent through the post is not only a very effective method but it also has the advantage of costing very little.

Quantities of these peace stickers, similar to the one shown here, cost only 1s. per 100, and may be obtained from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W. 1.



RIGHT AND DUTY

SPEAKING at a P.P.U. meeting at Wembley last week Lord Arnold made a brilliant criticism of collective "security."

He emphasized the fact that he was speaking as a practical politician, and pointed out that as such he could not accept a policy which was open to much criticism even from the strictly theoretical view, and which from the practical viewpoint was merely the "balance of power" with a new name.

How foolish it was to suppose that an alliance between France, Russia, and Great Britain (the League) would be so overwhelmingly powerful as to prevent the so-called aggressive States, Germany, Italy, and Japan from making war, for fear of defeat.

The second speaker, Miss Thorneycroft dealt in a masterly manner with a subject that is very rarely discussed in any detail although it is of considerable importance that the pacifist should fully understand it.

Has an individual a moral right to break the law under any circumstances? Miss Thorneycroft pointed out that such a belief on the part of many people could lead logically only to anarchy.

No man has a right to defy society and its laws.

On the other hand, it is quite easy to visualize circumstances (the pacifist may have several in his mind) in which it might be a man's duty to break the law.

There is a difference in meaning between these two words which is of basic importance.

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By DOROTHY PLOWMAN

(On behalf of the Basque Fund)

FIVE miles out of Colchester on the Ipswich Road a fine old oak in the middle of a grass triangle marks a turning on the left leading to the hamlet of Langham. This local landmark is known as the Langham Oak. Following the turning (and bearing first right, then left) for about a mile, the traveller comes on a solidly-built, comfortable-looking house of grey stone standing in finely-kept grounds and called "The Adelphi Centre."

Here Middleton Murry's community for the study and practice of the new Socialism has been in action for a year. Now the whole house is being surrendered to the family of 29 Basque girls and 24 Basque boys for which the P.P.U. has recently made itself responsible. Before it became the Adelphi Centre ("The Adelphi" is the monthly magazine, now well known to pacifists, which Murry started in 1924) the name of this house was—and in the locality still is—"The Oaks." As you approach it you realize why; for in front of the house and overshadowing the road is one of the most majestic oak trees I have ever seen.

So it seems strangely fitting that these little Basques, whose own ancient oak was one of the few things left standing in Guernica, should have come to Langham; and that the house which is to be their temporary home should link in its name the Basque and the English tree.

"...and the leaves of the tree shall be for the healing of the nations."

There has been a wonderful response to the appeal made by the P.P.U. for the means to house and support these children. Gifts of money and clothes and offers of service of every kind have been coming steadily into the office. They will, I hope, continue to come. We have tried to thank everybody personally, but there is one large group of people that we can only thank through this medium. Those who make their gifts anonymously we do now very specially thank, both for the gifts themselves and for the manner of their making (and only an over-worked hon. sec. will realize the full implication of that remark!)

Cases of illness in the camp at Southampton have meant a great speeding-up of our plans and an immense amount of work to be done in a very short time. The National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief begged us to take our contingent off their hands at the earliest possible moment, so that by the time this appears the children will already be in residence.

At a meeting of London group leaders last week collecting boxes were distributed, and various methods of raising money, such as "miles of pennies" (one group leader prophesied a £30 collection by this means!) were proposed. I need not say how very warmly we welcome all such efforts for the good cause. As the boxes come in we propose to publish in this column a weekly list of these collections.

We are still some distance from the total sum we set ourselves to raise. If therefore this should catch the eye of anyone who would like to relieve us of the whole burden of financial anxiety, and make it possible for us to do right royally by these Basque children—now is the moment!

DELAYS HAVE DANGEROUS ENDS



"He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap"

(ECCLES. XI, 4)

AIR FORCE PAGEANT: P.P.U. TO STAGE MASS PROTEST

AT the same time as public sympathy is being invoked in aid of the children driven from Spain by the modern menace of death from the skies, preparations are being made for hundreds of thousands of the British public to be "entertained" by the R.A.F. Air Pageant at Hendon on June 26.

A supreme effort to awaken people to the real meaning of this display of aerial might is to be made by the Peace Pledge Union, but to ensure success a large body of helpers will be needed.

One thousand volunteers will be needed, for example, to distribute leaflets. If you can help in this venture please write immediately to Nigel Spottiswoode at P.P.U. headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1. People living in the Burnt Oak district can render special assistance by offering their houses as depots for supplies of leaflets.

EMPIRE AIR DAY

Nearly forty P.P.U. members in the Birmingham area took part in a poster parade outside Castle Bromwich aerodrome on the occasion of the Empire Air Day display. There were about 30,000 spectators.

The poster parade lasted from 2 to 6.30 p.m. and 5,000 Burn the Babies

leaflets were distributed. The demonstration was mentioned in the local Press.

An addition to existing propaganda exposing military tattoos is a poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds), at 2d. It reads: "Don't let the tattoo deceive you: there is no glittering pageantry in war."

The following has been sent to Mr.

Herbert Morrison, M.P.:—

THE undersigned members of the executive committee of the Peace Pledge Union regard the forthcoming Royal Air Force Display at Hendon as the complete antithesis of all that education stands for.

May we therefore beg for your assurance that the London County Council does not intend to provide facilities to enable the children under its authority to attend the rehearsal at Hendon on Friday, June 25?

May we also ask you if you would be so kind as to ask a question in the House of Commons to inquire whether, if any young people are to be invited to the R.A.F. rehearsal, His Majesty's Government would consider the propriety of extending this invitation to the Basque children now sheltering in this country?

Opposition to Air Raid "Precautions"

WHILE a resolution declaring opposition to the Air Raid "Precautions" scheme of the Government was passed unanimously at a conference held by the Watford and District Peace Council recently, a further resolution demanding that the Watford Borough Council and the Government should supply first quality gas-masks only, prepare now for evacuation of old people and children to the country, and construct bomb-proof shelters, was also carried, by one vote.

The first resolution did, however, agitate for "the abolition of all military aircraft, and the internationalization of civil aviation," and pointed out that the schemes "threatened civil liberties through the regimentation which the schemes involved."

HIKE FOR PEACE

A group of pacifists will go on a pacifist campaign through England and Wales starting some time after July 2.

The group will cycle using Youth Hostels: meetings will be called and literature distributed en route. Should enough volunteers be forthcoming the campaign will divide into three sections:—

1. Going west to end up at the un-

CO-OP. WOMEN'S PLANS FOR PEACE

PRACTICAL suggestions for constructive work for peace and for increasing the spirit of cooperation between nations were embodied in a resolution adopted by the Women's Cooperative Guild Congress at New Brighton last week.

Among the actions called for were solutions for grievances between nations, practical disarmament plans, and encouragement of international trade on a cooperative basis.

The congress also called upon the Government to discontinue all military displays and to substitute a peace pageant. Further, conscription was condemned, and Mrs. Skellion, of Darlington, said if conscription were allowed to come to the country their own sons would condemn them.

employed camp on the Gower Coast (South Wales).

2. Going north-west to end up at the B.Y.P.A. camp in Llangollen (North Wales).

3. Going north to end at the pacifist camp at Swanwick (Derbyshire).

Volunteers please state route preferred, and possible starting dates when writing to M. Pope, London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

Peace News

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The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union
Taking the Constructive Pacifist Position, but providing news,
information and an open forum

Serving all who are working for Peace

June 12, 1937

THE LESSON OF SPAIN

WHOEVER comes out of the Spanish war with credit, one thing is certain, war itself has received a nasty knock. The world has learned through the agony of the Spanish people what modern war really is. We did not know it before, but we now know from actual experience that, in Middleton Murry's memorable phrase, modern war is, and can be nothing other than, "a deliberate massacre of the innocents." The Spanish war will go down to history as the war of outrage upon civilians—unspeakable, unparalleled, scientific outrage.

What does this intelligence mean to the rest of the civilised world? What can it mean but that henceforth war itself must be banned from the activities of civilised man? War, the activity itself—not Fascism or Communism, or Godlessness or Roman Catholicism—is the enemy of mankind which now threatens the life of the race.

So far we shall probably carry with us everyone who is not a political fanatic or a war-maker by profession. It is only when we try to decide how the common end can be achieved that we begin to divide the would-be peacemakers. Proclaim international law and provide means whereby it shall be kept, says Lord Davies. That sounds well and will certainly appeal to those who are sure they have hard heads and hearts well below deck. In point of fact it is an invitation to jump out of the frying-pan into the fire. It is in effect a proposal, not to ban war, but to universalise it by providing as security from war the abstraction of universal justice. Lord Davies wants to spray the world with peace, forgetting that peace is not a disinfectant, but a plant of tender growth that grows like the seed sown in the parable of the Gospel.

The truth is that peace can be had only if mankind is willing to pay the price of peace. And the price of peace is sacrifice. The question everyone who truly wants peace must now answer is: How much are YOU willing to pay for it? How much security? How much money? How much prestige? How much comfort? How much national pride?

The test is upon this country. If this country is willing to call a halt to re-armament, and a conference of the powers upon the just distribution of the world's economic resources, then before all the world we shall stand revealed as the country which intends to seek peace and to ensue it. If we merely go on with Empire conferences and the present rearmament programme, the rest of the world will rightly decide that England is out for war.

CHARLES E. RAVEN on

The New Triple Alliance

CHRISTIANITY—SOCIALISM—PACIFISM

John Middleton Murry's new book "The Necessity of Pacifism" (Cape) 3s. 6d. net.



MIDDLETON MURRY

"THE imagination of religion, the imagination of history, the imagination of poetry—all these are with the Pacifist today. And a greater than all these is with him—the life-instinct of the plain man. And yet a greater still: the living inspiration of Jesus." So Mr. Middleton Murry states the vindication of his faith and brings a very notable and noble book to its conclusion. He has already given us a *Life of Jesus* full of insight and religious sensitiveness, and a volume, *The Necessity of Communism*, which reveals his passionate concern for human brotherhood and his appreciation of the modern threat to any true community. He has now been convinced that the way of pacifism is the only road by which the example of Jesus can be followed and any effective social reform be accomplished. Christianity, in its true character, as the motive force; Socialism, also in its true character, as the practical programme; and pacifism, radical and positive, as the necessary technique—these are the essentials of his creed.

In his interpretation of Jesus Mr. Murry maintained that here was the emergence of a wholly new type, a type which foreshadowed and inspired a new age of human fellowship; in his concern with Socialism he has had to face the futility of the gradualists who, in fact, accept the social order which they profess to condemn, and the futility of violent revolution which plans to achieve brotherhood by bombs and bayonets; convinced that we cannot cast out Satan by Satan he inevitably arrives at the conclusion that only by peaceful methods can any true peace be won. He believes that the ordinary man loathes war and desires, however inconsistent his practice, the life of community; that the instincts on which this desire is based are indestructible; and that here and now if Christians and Socialists will put their faith into practice, they have good reason to face the future with hope.

Like all Mr. Murry's writings the book springs out of his own personal experience. He is one of the few men of outstanding ability who are not afraid to write of their own experiments and growth and can do so without egoism. The result is that his work is both vivid and verifiable: we are shown

each stage of the process by which his conviction is reached and can check the argument by reference to its data. So many of us have followed or are being led along the road that he describes from Christianity to social reform, and from social reform to pacifism that it is fascinating to see the journey described by one in whom sincerity and literary skill, idealism, and common sense are so excellently combined. The book is thus an admirable companion to Lord Russell's recent volume: what is there argued with the ruthless and detached logic of a mathematical demonstration is here set out in the not less compelling logic of a representative personal experience.

Here then is a challenge which every pacifist, every socialist and every Christian should take to heart. The churches have long been aware that they are losing ground: the evident time-serving of their acquiescence in war, the failure of their official leaders to make even a plausible reply to pacifism, the refusal to recognise that on this issue the conscience of mankind in this country at least is deeply stirred, will bring disaster upon them unless they repent. Social reformers have become increasingly disgusted with the failure of the Labour Party to think out a policy, with the bickerings and timidities of its leadership, and with its refusal to make any effective stand for peace. The instinct, and the aspirations of the common man are more concerned at the moment with the fear of war than with any other single issue whatsoever. In pacifism we have the one cause of which the advocates may be sure of a vast and sympathetic following. Surely all thinking citizens of this country will agree with Mr. Murry's words: "In defending democracy by war we shall lose it for ever; in defending Christianity by war we shall annihilate it; in seeking Socialism by war we shall achieve barbarism instead. We can defend democracy today only by surpassing it, we can defend Christianity only by being Christian, we can advance towards Socialism only by refusing war: for what Socialism is not yet strong enough or convinced enough to do, Pacifism has strength and means to do—namely, to reassert the ultimate reality of the individual man."

Of the future Mr. Murry naturally refuses to prophesy. He sees that only by rejecting war can civilization be saved and reformed: but no man in face of the position of affairs at home or abroad can have any easy confidence in the avoidance of disaster. Yet his concluding exhortation is in fact a prophecy that is being fulfilled. Pacifism, despite the boycott of its meetings and the denunciations of Church and State, is already drawing together into the closest cooperation and agreement those who derive their primary inspiration from religion and from social concern. A new alignment of groups is, in fact, being accomplished; and the triple alliance which this book advocates is rapidly becoming a veritable community.

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NEWSNOTES

"Terror Against Terror" :: Another Fine Phrase :: Votes & Policies :: After the Imperial Conference

by CEDIPUS

IF any one has succumbed to the efforts of Sir Stanley Baldwin's friends to persuade people that he was exaggerating, or didn't mean quite what he said, when, in November 1932, he blurted out that "the only defence is in offence" let them consider the testimony of one who has experienced war at closer quarters and more recently than has our late Prime Minister.

I refer, of course, to this statement, reported in the Press this week, of the Spanish Minister of Defence:

Against the terrible arm of aviation there is only one resource—aviation employed according to the same methods as the enemy, and, if possible, in greater measure. That is to say, terror against terror.

It is directly in line with the two quotations I gave last week as showing that the rebels really believe in the war method.

The Spanish Government still does not seem really to believe in it. For the Defence Minister added:

In view of the cruel persistence of air attacks against the civil population we are beginning to wonder whether the excessive scruples which have prevented us from taking reprisals are not leading us from the path of our sacred duty of winning the war at all costs.

Herein lies one of the most tragic features of the war. It is the pathetic spectacle of a people using a method—the war method—of defence in which they do not really believe and which in any case has over and over again proved itself valueless. Yet neither do they believe in the pacifist method of defence.

THE Non-Intervention Committee's method of ending the war is now taking the form of withdrawing all foreigners and leaving it to these half-hearted believers in violence to do their best against the really determined users of violence.

This can only be done if the German and Italian Governments resume their part in the non-intervention scheme. And they will only do this if they are persuaded that their "control" fleets' security is guaranteed. To this end they claim "individual freedom of action" if their vessels are again attacked.

The British Government feel obliged to remove a doubt as to whether this fine-sounding phrase "refers only to the natural and legitimate right of self-defence . . . and would not be extended to cover individual reprisals," such as the bombardment of Almeria by German warships last week.

Thus the British Government's hope of peace rests upon the assumption that there is some other defence against attack than offence. Yet this same Government indicates its approval of Baldwin's famous remark already quoted by forming five more bomber squadrons "for home defence."

If the pacifists' reply to our own Government—that the only alternatives are the most bestial barbarity and complete renunciation of war—be applied to the Powers' attitude to Spain, such a clarification of the issue would go a long way toward ending their part in the war and so toward ending the war itself.

THE Birmingham Pacifist Convention, discussing the possibility of giving effect to its policy through political action, deplored the Labour Party's heresy hunting as a hindrance to the conversion of the party into a more hopeful agency for constructive peace action.

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

WARFARE: OLD AND NEW

I ALWAYS think twice before disagreeing with Bertrand Russell; and probably I shall not be rash enough to disagree with him even now. But I cannot help feeling that, in his recent article on "Humanizing Warfare," in order to make the perfectly valid point that war has always been brutal and bestial, he underestimated the nature of the change that has occurred in warfare. "In the outcry against new methods of warfare," he wrote, "there is an implication against which the pacifist must be on his guard. It is suggested that war used to be fine and noble, and that it is only these horrid innovations that have made it objectionable." Rather like the popinjay who made Hotspur angry:

"But for these vile guns

He would himself have been a soldier."

One need not deny for one moment that war has always been horrible and inhuman in order to insist that nevertheless warfare is now generically different from what it used to be. The first and foremost difference is that, under modern conditions, the whole nation is totally organized for war. This is a necessary consequence of a highly developed technical civilization, under which each country, by reason of a network of communication 'inconceivable a hundred years ago, is organized as a material unity to a degree hitherto unknown. That is, in its consequences, more significant than the development of the purely destructive technique of modern warfare. The invention of the thermite bomb, for example, would not be one tenth so terrible were it not for the simultaneous crowding of millions of people into great cities. Not that these developments can be separated from one another. They are complementary aspects of a single process: technical civilization, or what the Socialists call—rather inadequately—capitalist civilization.

This technical unification of a country makes it possible to turn the whole of a nation into one vast war-machine; and, of course, in warfare what is possible is always necessary. If you do not do it, the enemy will. So that by a process of sheer inevitability it is quite impossible to make the faintest distinction between civilians and combatants. There is a sinister parallelism in the development. Just as methods of warfare are evolved which—like the thermite bomb or the gas-bomb—must be indiscriminate in the destruction which they inflict, so an economic organisation is evolved which completely "justifies" indiscriminate destruction. Modern warfare has to be deliberately indiscriminate. The aim is no longer to defeat an army, but to wreck a nation.

This, it seems to me, does mark a change in kind in the nature of war. The history of warfare is brutal enough. There have been over and over again in the past bestial massacres of women and children in cities that have been taken by storm. But I think it is true to say that in the past men's consciences have been uneasy about these horrors. They were inclined to think such

massacre a sin against their religion, or a degradation of their military honour. And, anyway, there were quite simple physical limitations to butchery: the soldier's sword-arm grew tired. Again, the horrors were localized. Armies were small. Sometimes, as in the Thirty Years' War, they made up for their primitive lack of ubiquity by keeping up the carnage for a generation. But, speaking roughly, the destructiveness of war was sporadic and local.

We have changed all that. Not only is warfare now universalized: the whole population and the whole resources of a nation are immediately implicated. Therefore the necessary method of waging warfare is to seek primarily to destroy or paralyze the unarmed population. Here is the real "horrid innovation" of modern warfare. The new technical devices of destruction are relatively unimportant beside the fact that they are to be used quite deliberately to massacre the innocents. There is, and there can be, no pretence of directing the destruction against "a military objective." Or rather, to destroy and terrorize the women and children is henceforward a main and avowed military objective.

Surely, this is a change in the nature of warfare; and it betokens an impending change in the nature of the men who wage it. We may admit that trying to kill an armed enemy is horrible enough; but if he is trying to kill you, there is a certain rough equality in the struggle, which, even after the invention of gunpowder and the gun, justified the common and stubborn feeling that war was the forcing-ground of some heroic virtues. It was a more glorious and more gruesome fight; and the fighting instinct is pretty primary in the human animal.

This element of the "fair fight" in warfare has diminished steadily in a technical civilization. Now it has disappeared altogether. Unfortunately, the struggle in Spain has given some occasion for a rebirth of romantic illusion about modern war among revolutionaries of the Left. They do not realise that civil war imposes restrictions even on General Franco; or that the war in Spain, by reason of the enormous deficiency in modern war-material on both sides, cannot be regarded even as a mild dress-rehearsal of international war. As *The Times* correspondent said, "the number of modern arms employed in Spain on one side or the other is insignificant." And we might add, with perhaps the exception of Guernica, the direction of their employment is insignificant, too.

Modern warfare is a deliberate massacre of the innocents. When humanity gets to that point, something has to happen. This is an abomination different in more than degree from the old horror of war. In spite of the persistence of that old horror, humanity has very gradually climbed a few rungs up the ladder of morality. War is now such an abomination that it will plunge mankind not merely into physical disaster, but into an unplumbed moral abyss.

Radio

Their's Not to Reason Why?

By R. M. HOLBROW

THE League of Nations has been called the "Geneva Talking Shop"—a deadly description calculated to appeal irresistibly to a nation of strong silent Englishmen.

Supporters of dictatorships are fond of decrying democracies for the time they waste in talking instead of doing. "Act First, Talk Afterwards" is a slogan which attracts many who are impatient for action and who find five minutes (or as long as it takes to read and assimilate the newspaper headlines) enough to decide what ought or ought not to be done on any given subject.

Pacifists anxious to talk things over with those who hold contrary opinions, and hoping to convert them by the use of sweet reason, frequently discover that their opponents are unwilling to respond by taking even the first step. "Come, let us reason together" is hardly in keeping with present-day tendencies.

SEALED LIPS?

This problem of getting the militarist to talk has proved an obstacle to the Leeds Anti-Tattoo Committee, of which Mr. Denis Riley is the chairman. The following letter from the BBC (Northern Region) is self-explanatory:—

"We were very interested in your suggestion for a debate between a representative of your committee and someone representing the military authorities on the subject of the Northern Command Tattoo.

"You will appreciate that in dealing with controversial matters of this kind, we are anxious to have both sides represented as fairly as possible—in fact, it is only under these conditions that we can consider a broadcast on such a subject.

"We have accordingly approached the military authorities, but are informed that they would not be willing to take part in a debate. Under the circumstances we regret, therefore, that we cannot arrange a broadcast, but we should like to thank you for drawing our attention to the possibility."

The military authorities scorn to talk. They know that their actions are right. Discussion would be waste of time.

SELF-PRESERVATION

The difficulty, therefore, in this instance, is not so much how to present the pacifist case with convincing argument but how to persuade the militarist to listen and to attempt the justification of his own attitude. There is a proverb to the effect that you can bring a horse to the water but you cannot make him drink.

With us it often happens that we can't even bring the darned old boss (or donkey?) to the water that we have prepared all ready for him, let alone persuade him to drink it!

Of course we know that the militarist who does speak in open debate is more likely to help the pacifist cause than his own. Perhaps, dimly, he realizes this and is prompted by an instinct for self-preservation to remain dumb.

We must not relax our efforts to get him to talk. If he is hopeless from the point of view of conversion to pacifism (which we are reluctant to admit) he

Recent Publications

REMOTE FROM REALITY

AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE. W. Bryn Thomas. Allenson. 3s. 6d.

Reviewed by Paul Winterton

SOME years ago Mr. Bryn Thomas took part in an essay competition in which the first seven chapters of this book took the first prize.

The adjudicators recommended publication, but Mr. Thomas felt that publication was inadvisable until he had completed the more ambitious



task of evolving the framework of an international police force. This he has now done.

He is inclined, however, to take an orthodox and superficial view of the necessity of a coercive sanction. "Well may the nations rejoice," he writes, "when they know that a nobler, better and more sane procedure (than war) prevails; when every dispute between nations shall be submitted to arbitration and men's minds may enjoy peace on the grounds that if the dispute be not settled, a great force is ready to enforce the reign of law and equity."

That is the armchair picture of what an international police force would mean, and is remote from reality.

Mr. Thomas makes hopeful suggestions.

He appreciates that Governments are the stumbling block to international amity and advocates taking the League out of their hands and having its delegates elected directly by the peoples.

He recognizes, too, the necessity of a large measure of international disarmament before his international police force could have much chance of success.

When Governments are willing to take such steps, it seems likely that there will no longer be any need for peace-lovers to advocate pacification by violence.

is yet a potential ally!

The BBC's attempt to arrange a discussion is to be commended, but in praising this desire for "both sides to be represented as fairly as possible," let us not overlook the fact that tattoos are being broadcast, whereas the voice of the objector will not be heard.

Effects of Arms Plan on Workers

REARMAMENT AND THE TRADE UNIONS. National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, W.1. 1d.

Reviewed by John W. Strange

THIS pamphlet is the second of the series of which the first was *Defence That Is No Defence*, by C. E. M. Joad.

It seeks to answer the question, "what kind of partnership is this that the unions are being asked to enter, what happened when they entered such a partnership in 1914, and how will the present programme affect them in time of peace and in time of war?"

In doing so a wide range of subjects is covered, including the reality of the "more work and higher wages" inducement offered, the administration of the fair wages clause, and the question of trainees in industry during the Great War, and today after the first war budget of 1937, and industrial conscription and the use of the armed forces against the trade union movement.

Notwithstanding the field covered the facts are presented in a clear and concise form and only one point detracts from an otherwise excellent production.

The final section links the foregoing analysis with suggestions for the preservation of peace, including the objective of "strengthening the authority and influence of the League of Nations."

That with its various interpretations may act as cover for a wide variety of policies, including the type this pamphlet intends to combat.

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

RED TERROR IN MADRID. Luis de Fonteriz. Longman's, Green. 2s. 6d.

Described as "an eye-witness record of the first six months of the civil war," this book purports to be an impartial and unpolitical account of the author's experiences, which he hopes will "serve as a warning to people in other countries who have not been called upon to undergo them."

ARMAMENTS AND THEIR COST: HIGH TAXES AND HIGH PRICES. Public Economy League, 21 Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C.2. Cobden-Sanderson. 3d.

An excellent array of facts and figures is given in this pamphlet, which concludes with a warning as to the dangers which may result from present tendencies in the financial sphere.

"Get This!" is the challenge at the top of a new poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds; "war as a means of settling international disputes is wrong, dishonourable and ineffective; a fraction of the £1,500 millions Defence Loan spent on practical measures to establish world friendship would make peace certain. Got that?"

Do You Know

Who Owns the largest Submarine Fleet

ITALY can now claim the "distinction" of possessing the largest submarine fleet in the world.

Twenty new submarines are to be laid down this year, according to a recent official announcement from Rome, raising the number of undersea boats in the Italian Navy to 108, all, except eight, of which are of modern design.

The other leading naval Powers have the following number of modern submarines:—France, 85; Japan, 64; Great Britain, 54; and U.S.A., 51.

Music In

THIS "CULTURED" ENGLAND

By HEDLEY SMART

WHEN England is a pacifist country and PEACE NEWS a daily paper I shall be able to keep pace with musical events. The concert-halls swarm with celebrities.

Every night some genius strikes the lyre, waves his baton, or rumbles forth in operatic villainy. And all this, strangely enough, because England has a king, and peeresses still pretend to be cultured.

Mr. Lawrence Tibbett disappointed us on his first appearance at Covent Garden; but his second, as Amonasro in *Aida*, was a triumph. He sang with a downright vigour that was refreshing.

One rejoiced to think that Mr. Tibbett had resisted the efforts of Hollywood to lure him from his true place with a bag of money and twenty singing belles, and that he preferred the dignity of such a part. He did it all justice.

No conductor in the world can do so much with his strings as Toscanini. It was a pity that his second concert was confined to works of such little importance—Cherubini, Berlioz' *Queen Mab*, *Carnival of Venice* by Tommasini. We should have preferred some old favourites.

The concert did include Elgar's *Introduction and Allegro for Strings*, and so perfect was Toscanini's interpretation of it that one felt he might have made even the same composer's *Land of Hope and Glory* sound pleasant.

ENTHUSIASM

Tomorrow, Gigli sings at the Albert Hall; and one can forecast within half a dozen songs of what his programme will consist.

I shall be there; and I wonder whether I shall meet the same two ladies who, on the last occasion, forgot their dignity, forgot how exquisitely dressed they were—but simply hung out of the box next door, shrieking for "Che Celida Manina." I hope not.

After that I am taking a holiday somewhere on the Mediterranean. I shall not even think of Mussolini.

On the way I shall call in at the Paris Exhibition and tell you what I think of the Peace Pavilion.

The Peace Pavilion is news. Mussolini is its best advertisement. *Salve, dimora, casta e pura...*

Hostels in the Hub of The World

By H. GRANVILLE HAWKES

DURING the eight months of its life as a hostel, I wonder what travellers have found 38 Great Ormond Street, the doorway to London?

The Warden shows me his book which records 7,000 bednights and I am left marvelling. I learn that young and old of both sexes of all races have stayed at this youth hostel.

I am conducted over the forty odd rooms and corridors of this great house and note stair rails which speak of magnificence a hundred years or more ago.

In the new light green paint and the plain oak panelling of the Common Room I see the simplicities of today. The room is a stage for the "actors." A grand piano in the corner reminds me of their play.

The polished floor invites me to foot it as lords and ladies did before me. Opposite the redbrick fireplace an open hatch reveals the kitchen beyond.

Here, Mrs. Russell, Assistant Warden, prepares meals for the guests. The large modern gas range, the



Visitors are only able to stay three nights in accordance with the rules of the Youth Hostels Association.

The Central London Hostel is within ten minutes' walk of St. Pancras, Euston, and King's Cross Stations.

From the hostel doorway, a visitor can soon find his way to Gray's Inn and the Temple.

Those who delight in plays or music will be glad to know that the hostel is within easy access to London's theatres and concert halls.

Indeed, almost every week the Warden leads or directs parties thither.

Both Central London and Highgate hostels set themselves out to make the visitors' stay profitable. Since the two hostels mentioned are used mostly by travellers to and from this country, a special sub-committee administers them in the interests of the Association as a whole.

A NEED

With past experience and knowledge to guide him, Arthur Leonard, vice-president of the Y.H.A., was one of the first to voice the need for a Central London Hostel.

For a while, the Association used a wing of Alexandra Palace. Then the advent of the BBC forced them to seek fresh quarters. No. 38 Great Ormond Street came into the market and, greatly venturing, the Association bought it for £4,500.

Owing to its state and the fact that the place had to be adapted slightly, alterations, fire-proofing, and safety precautions had to be made. Moreover, new electric wiring, and additional washing facilities were also necessary.

Voluntary work parties from affiliated organizations did much to clean and redecorate the hostel, to say nothing of sewing parties whose labours in the bedrooms brought the touch of feminine care to the comfort of visitors.

When it is considered that the hostel cost over £2,000 to equip, the value of such honorary work is not hard to assess.

How was the outlay met? An appeal to all Y.H.A. members raised over £800 in small amounts and with public spirited generosity £250 was given by the W.T.A. for a common room. Gifts in kind have also been

Forum For Youth

OUR ATTITUDE TO OTHER PEACE SOCIETIES

What Should It Be?

NOW that the question of a Peace Party is coming into prominence I think pacifists should define their attitude toward other movements working for peace and social progress without the renunciation of all military force.

I do not applaud the uncompromising attitude of many pacifists who fanatically reject all cooperation with societies such as the League of Nations Union, the peace councils, and the more progressive political organizations.

PERSONAL CONFLICT

First and foremost the pacifist has his own personal conflict to resolve—the development of his own powers of faith and intelligence by unflagging discipline until his life has become an irresistible inspiration and example.

As he gains strength and conviction his energy will be directed to wider cooperative efforts; to a united crusade. But this unity must be the result of a common purpose achieved by similar experiences and training, which cannot be realized if pacifists expend their energy in sensational attacks on kindred movements.

Neither do we want to form a Peace Party by this or any other of the tub-thumping devices of political warfare. Such methods are contrary to the principles of positive pacifism, that is, to pacifism which is something more than a mere denial of war.

Peace needs its drum-taps, says Wells; but let us see to it that our

drum-taps are not just another discord in the political uproar.

Before we start party organization I suggest we steal a little thunder from the most well organized political party of today. The communists' method is not only to denounce every other party but also to work from within every possible organization by challenging the policies of these groups and by endeavouring to bring their ideas to influence members individually if not as a whole.

COOPERATE WITH ALL

This method is specially desirable for pacifists since it brings them into direct contact with different types of individuals and also makes imperative a thorough knowledge and understanding of the aims and objects of other movements beside their own.

From this I suggest that pacifists in relation to other movements should cooperate with all societies and organizations at all compatible with their aims—more particularly peace societies and

BANNED IN ITALY

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

MAY I remind pacifists that the best propaganda is often indirect, and that an admirable example of this is the film *Kameradschaft* which is being shown at the Everyman Theatre, Hampstead, between June 7 and 13.

This German film of coal mining adventures on both sides of a frontier is a real thriller, and its peace propaganda value is obvious enough to have caused it to be banned in Italy.

councils—at the same time taking every opportunity to put forward the pacifist belief.

This includes movements such as the New Commonwealth which, though still basing its policy on military force, is nevertheless working for the cause of international justice and disarmament and should not be condemned in the same breath as the imperialists and nationalists.

If people supported the idea of internationalism to the extent of yielding national armaments for an International Police Force, would it not be a far easier task for pacifists to spread their ideals of world unity freed from military force than at the present time?

Similarly pacifists need not withdraw from their political societies—they can work to draw them within the Pacifist Movement. In this way only can our Peace Party grow—if our party is to be a party of convinced pacifists and not defeatists.

We are not pacifists because there is no other way but because we believe it the true way.

MARGARET POPE,

Do You Sell PEACE NEWS?

To the list of places where there are open-air sellers of PEACE NEWS should be added:—

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GREENFORD
NORWICH
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REDHILL
ROMFORD
SOUTHPORT
STOCKPORT
SUTTON (Surrey)
WORCESTER**

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People from other lands seeking to know English people find the London hostels invaluable.

The friendships made there and the unique opportunities to see London's many attractions are far above the values of the charges paid.

Like youth hostels elsewhere a bed costs only 1s. at the Central Hostel.

USE THE AIR FOR PEACE

Now, with the Atlantic question settled, Colonel Lindbergh has yet another great aim in life.

This is to see the great bombing fleets of the world vanish, to give way to flotillas of civilian airliners soaring every sky, bringing people closer to people, and nation to nation, not in war but in peace.

With the almost weekly advance in the efficiency and performance of the aeroplane, more and more frontiers become merely imaginary lines, miles shrink to yards and yards to feet.

Civilization has created a weapon with which to destroy itself. A weapon, the tall man thinks, must never be used.

He prefers to concentrate on the other side of the picture. Use the air for peace, he says. Those wings should carry men and women instead of bombs.

Let them be used so that the people of one nation can meet and like those of another.—C. W. A. Scott in the *News Chronicle*.

received; items of furniture, pictures and travel posters.

Each week sees a new idea working at the Central Hostel. Youth revitalizes it!

Baptist Report On War

ON reading the "Baptist Report on War" I have found this flagrant inconsistency.

On the one hand the signing of pacifist pledges is deprecated on the ground that "it operates as a hindrance to the free exercise of judgment in an actual situation," but on the other hand the vow of the soldier to military obedience is not even mentioned.

This is the more striking for two considerations:—

1. The Report is emphatically in favour of a world police force conception. When the question was recently asked in the House of Commons whether the Government would allow recruits to give a conditional vow of obedience, to fight only for League principles, and not merely for national ends, it was plainly negated by the Government spokesman.

2. The Baptist Report deliberately sets the pacifist and the soldier on equal terms of conscientiousness "to follow the will of his Lord" (page 25).

Thus the pacifist is wrong to be committed in advance against war whatever the situation, but the soldier is apparently justified in committing his conscience in advance to fight for his country whatever the situation.

This is obviously just bias against the pacifist view. To be consistent the report would have to record "deprecation" of the soldier's vow of obedience.

(Rev.) BERTRAND J. COGGLE.

30 London Road,
Northampton.

GARCIA MORALES

The last thing I want to do is to turn your columns into a cockpit, but Mr. Townsend's letter in your issue of May 1 seems to call for a reply, more especially since his words imply that no one should "venture to question" the accuracy of his remarks.

I am not a Spaniard or a Roman Catholic. I do not know Señor Juan García Morales, and I hold no brief for him or his party. But if a man is trying to publish the truth and to preach conciliation and good will, what does it matter whether he has quarrelled with his church?

He is not the first who has done so and, as events are trending at present, he will certainly not be the last.

YOUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT.

Castellon-de-la-Plana.

This correspondence is now closed.
—Ed.

Although we are often told that Britain is behind in her aircraft plan, she has recently completed the delivery of a squadron of ten fighter planes to Yugoslavia.

Among the contents of this month's issue of *Reconciliation* (journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 3d.) are "The Internationalism of Jesus" by the Rev. Frank W. Moyle, "Heresy as a Refuge from Pacifism" by the Rev. Paul Gliddon, "A Mad Dog" by Dr. A. Herbert Gray, "Pacifism and Possessions" by Leslie S. G. Harries, "Toward the New World" by the Rev. Alan Balding, and "The Baptists Report on War" by the Rev. W. H. Haden.

READERS' PAGE

Revive That "Non-Conformist Conscience"

MANY of your readers, I am sure, will be grateful for the account you have published of the interview with Mr. A. J. Cummings, and the damaging evidence he has given regarding the Government's policy on economic matters.

The fact that not only surprises me, but fills me with what I hope is only righteous indignation, is the way in which so many religious journals are going out of their way to "present bouquets" to those who are responsible for actions which are fast precipitating us to disaster.

Is it not high time that our Christian leaders and writers ceased eulogizing and spoke plainly regarding conditions which are becoming increasingly fraught with danger?

As a Free Church minister I find

myself frequently longing for a revival of something which in these days would prove a suitable successor to the old "nonconformist conscience."

There was a time when men were not afraid to proclaim their convictions, no matter what the cost; now it seems that "soft things" are the order of the day, despite the fact that governments and politicians may be leading us along the road to destruction.

One thing more. Why not pacifist employers give extra holidays to their employees who refuse to join the Territorials for conscientious reasons?

(Rev.) H. J. DALE.

"Devona,"
Western Road,
Lymington.

NO COMPROMISE

In reply to your correspondent "J.J." who raises the question whether we are justified in taking one Christian principle to its extreme, I would give the following answer.

Christian pacifism involves not only absolute resistance to war but also something much larger namely a certain attitude to life as a whole; to life in all its ways and works. Pacifism is Christianity in action, in personal, national, and international relationships.

Christian pacifism cannot be limited solely to the question of war, but because it is the only way to end war, it is the quickest road to the founding of a truly Christian society in which all Christian principles can be practised without compromise.

GORDON E. TURNER.

6 Palace Court Gardens,
Muswell Hill, N.10.

We have received a number of other replies making the same point but in greater detail.—Ed.

DISARMAMENT

We must seek peace and goodwill everywhere and lose no time in getting such an understanding of the world situation as will enable all barriers to complete disarmament and world peace to be removed one by one—definitely and persistently.

The P.P.U. or better still a union of peace movements should ask each nation whether it will disarm completely providing all the other nations do the same.

If any do not wish to do so we must know their objections and seek (and achieve) satisfaction for all parties.

The results should be publicly stated to all the nations and we must not rest until all are willing. "With God all things are possible"—so we must persist in perfect faith until all motives for arming are made unnecessary.

May George Lansbury's campaign for a world conference succeed as this will provide a splendid opportunity for my suggestions to be carried out. "Perfect Love casts out Fear."

FRANK S. NOTCUTT.
48 Ashford Road,
Brighton, 6.

ADVENTURE

It has often struck me that we are apt to overlook three important facts:—

1. The way to stop war is to make peace.

2. War is impossible, unless a very large number of men and women can be persuaded that it is necessary.

3. It is not only the bad qualities of humanity that lead to war.

Writing as an ordinary man, I am not greatly attracted by the idea of an orgy of lust and destruction. If I am to take part in war to any effective extent I must revert to the beast in me: the more completely so, the better from the military point of view.

On the other hand, I am greatly attracted by the idea of proving my manhood in adventure, comradeship, and danger. If I can face death suddenly and unafraid, I know I am thenceforth master of life.

These are good qualities, and no scheme for peace will work unless it gratifies these instincts. Once we can make it obvious that it does, the shabby bogey of war will vanish.

S. A. WICKSTEED.

192 Newhaven Road,
Edinburgh, 6.

The country as a whole has at last wakened up from its dreams of universal brotherhood, and is facing facts as they are. This is an immense relief and encouragement to lovers of peace all over the world.—General Sir Walter Kirke, Director-General of Territorial Army, April 3.

What is the Good?

What's the good of war anyway. Look at me. I was a sergeant in the last war, while Hitler was only a corporal. Now look at him, he's president of Germany, and I'm only a stage artist.—Stainless Stephen at the Finsbury Park Empire.

CONCORD

is a residential guest house where pacifists will find congenial society. Strictly vegetarian and food reform. Non-residents welcomed for meals.

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Don't Make War Weapons!

I AGREE with Howard Smith only in one particular, namely, that the making of an instrument of war is not the same as using it to kill others.

There is indeed a very comfortable difference if we can succeed in quietening our conscience. One wonders how many more human entrails need to be blown over barbed wire before he will feel the time ripe for a more definite stand. Surely this deplorable method of deduction is one of the main reasons why we have failed to outlaw war.

While no nation without weapons will dare to declare war it is inconceivable that, in the absence of any higher moral lead than attempts to justify the manufacture of instruments known to be definitely intended for the slaughter of one's fellows, the masses in any country after being duly worked up to the desired pitch of war fervour are going to observe a psychological moment for responding to a call to down weapons.

There are many other occupations than war manufacture forbidden by laws of most countries whereby a man may protect his family from starvation—occupations whose fruits are not nearly so disastrous as war's. Do we justify any of these?

E. H. FLETCHER.

59 Bushmore Road, Hall Green,
Birmingham.

PSYCHOLOGY

Deeply appreciating the articles of J. Middleton Murry—especially the last, "The Foolishness of Peace," which, in my opinion, gives the only valid solution of the world peace problem, may I venture, as a member of the P.P.U. and a many years' student of biblical psychology, to ask the following:—

1. To whom, or to what, are the members of the P.P.U. supposed to direct or give their pledge?

2. What are the implications contained in the term "War"; and what does renunciation of war involve and demand of each?

3. Is there not also a bloodless warfare to be waged within the individual soul against the warlike feelings and thoughts there—"the only war that can ever end war"—that can neither be renounced nor ultimately evaded by any valid pacifist?

4. Can this latter kind of warfare have a substitute or an alternative in economics of politics?

C. EGERTON PARRY.

48 Ferrers Avenue,
West Drayton.

GEO. A. INNES

Mr. Geo. A. Innes, who has been Organizer to the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union since 1924, is retiring from that position at the end of August.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

Reports of Commissions

FOLLOWING are the main points in the statements issued by the various commissions to the session of the National Peace Congress held on Sunday, May 30.

CHURCHES

1. "War is inconsistent with the nature and purpose of God."
2. "The commission appeals that war should in no circumstances receive the endorsement of the Christian churches."
3. "The distinctive contribution of the Christian churches in the realm of international affairs is concerned not with national security but with international justice and reconciliation."
4. "The Christian church should support the right of individuals to refuse, for conscientious reasons, to make war materials without jeopardizing their livelihood."
5. "The world-wide Church should deepen its sense of union in Christ."

COOPERATORS

Cooperators should:—

1. Reinforce their efforts in the building of their own movement by increasing sales, and extending co-operative trading, and increase their knowledge of the principles of the movement.
2. Influence their societies to take an interest in peace propaganda, and urge their members to join the guilds and other cooperative organizations; and especially urge members to encourage their children to join the youth sections, which are day by day actively working for peace.
3. Recognize the need for linking up with peace organizations and strengthening their efforts both morally and financially.

EDUCATION

Because a healthy, well-educated, and informed democracy is the greatest guarantee for the maintenance of peace (the commission) demands a generous increase of expenditure, without which it is impossible to ensure a progressive educational policy.

The commission calls upon the Government for an effective and continuous educational policy directed to the establishment and maintenance of world peace.

The commission recommends and stresses the value of the use of cultural films as a means of fostering the idea of international brotherhood and as a means of direct peace propaganda.

LOCAL ACTIVITIES

There are immense possibilities in appeals to particular sections based on their special interests, and through the activity of their own organizations, in order that their special contribution may be effectively made. The commission particularly notices the importance of the following:—

1. **Churches:** It was felt that the religious organizations comprised a very substantial body of opinion which should be ready to lend its support to efforts on behalf of peace.
2. **Trade unions:** It was felt that support must be gained from the trade unions, having regard to the importance of their part in the industrial life of the nation, and also to the special dangers to which the trade unions are exposed by the menace of war.
3. **Women:** Particular attention should be paid to the problem of securing the support of women, both as individuals and through their

organizations, with particular reference to the effects of rearmament upon the standards of life and nutrition.

4. **Youth:** The attention of youth must be drawn to the grave nature of the issues of peace and war as they affect the future of young people. Youth organizations must demand the assurance of peace in order to secure a full life of useful and happy activity, freed from the threat of untimely destruction.

In its local aspect, the campaign should demonstrate the effects of war preparation upon each locality in the retarding of measures of social progress and the sacrificing of urgent local needs arising from the diversion of resources to war preparation. This problem should be brought to the notice of the local authority with a view to enlisting their sympathy for the campaign.

The local peace councils should

- a Secure widely representative support.
- b Having secured this support, ask the local M.P. or M.P.s to receive a representative deputation.
- c Send resolutions to local M.P.s and to the Prime Minister.
- d Ask local organizations to forward similar resolutions.
- e Organize petitions for public signature.
- f Put questionnaires to candidates at elections.

Special efforts should be made to secure the fullest publicity in the local press.

The commission is strongly of the opinion that peace propaganda must be made attractive.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

War as a means of settlement of international disputes is irrational, wasteful, offers no certainty of arriving at a just result, and in practice tends to aggravate the difficulties existing before warfare begins. It is entirely contrary to the spirit of science, and as scientists we are bound to reject it.

To the scientist, rearmament represents a tremendous diversion of productive resources from peaceful and constructive purposes toward mass destruction and waste. We are aware of the essential part which scientists play in war preparation.

At present, only a small proportion of scientific workers are unwilling to collaborate in the rearmament programme. We pledge ourselves to further efforts toward extending our influence, and to wholehearted support of those who refuse to aid the war machine.

We press for an independent inquiry into the whole subject of air raid precautions, which will both examine the present schemes and consider the question of alternatives.

The following resolution was passed:

That a Scientists' Peace Committee be constituted to coordinate the work of existing scientists' peace groups with the work of the Medical Peace Campaign, and to work in conjunction with other peace groups, and with the National Peace Council.

TRADE UNIONS

If world peace is to be developed stress must be laid on the following points:

1. There must be uncompromising opposition to the Government's arms programme.
2. The need for the nationalization

THE National Peace Congress provided an interesting example of how pacifists are misrepresented and how PEACE NEWS is counteracting misrepresentation.

A speaker said that "if so-called Christian pacifists stand up and say they will have nothing to do with the Basque babies (on the ground that their evacuation was an air raid precaution, which they would have nothing to do with) I have very little respect for their Christianity." This was greeted with cries from the audience of

"No pacifist has ever said that," and

"It's in the paper today—PEACE NEWS, twopence!"

of the arms industry.

3. Attention must be directed to the artificial character of the present boom in trade.

4. The danger from the arms policy of the Government in relation to the cost of living, the attack upon trade union standards, industrial conscription, followed by a worse condition of unemployment than that experienced prior to the present boom.

5. Greater support must be given by the Government to the International Labour Office, by this means improving labour standards internationally. The freedom of association must be secured for all workers at home, throughout the British Empire, and in all other countries.

YOUTH

Recommendations for the development of the youth peace movement:—

1. That a Youth Charter for the Economic and Social Rights of Youth be made an integral part of the peace movement:

2. Organization of local youth assemblies and local activities.

3. **The Paris International Youth Camp.** That all organizations be invited to assist, by giving publicity to the camp (details from Miss J. Corcoran, British Youth Peace Assembly, 15a Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1), in ensuring that 400 young people attend the camp from Britain.

4. **Youth and Sport.** That all youth organizations be urged to become affiliated to the Youth Hostels Association and that members be encouraged to organize discussions and week-end conferences on "Peace through Sport" at Youth Hostels. That a National Youth Festival be organized in a London stadium in June, 1938.

5. **Spain.** That all youth organizations be asked to show their support of Spanish Youth in their struggle for democracy and national freedom by supporting the Youth Foodship Committee.

TROOPS FIGHT FIRES

Really useful work can be done by the army as was shown last week when gas-masked troops assisted in fighting a huge heath fire which started at Churt, near Bron-y-de, the residence of Mr. Lloyd George. Over four square miles of gorse and heather were destroyed, but the Devil's Punch Bowl, the famous beauty spot, was saved from damage.

Ask your Newsagent for
PEACE NEWS
Weekly

NEWSNOTES

(Concluded from page 7)

The latest move to combat that heresy hunting, is the decision to continue the Unity Campaign with its communist and I.L.P. exponents on different platforms from its labour supporters. Coinciding with the Labour Party's decision to launch a campaign for one million new votes a year, this move does not seem likely to achieve its object of winning over the party at its next annual conference. For it is the Labour Party's notorious preference for votes over principles that is the mainspring of the heresy hunt.

Either way, therefore, there can be little encouragement in these latest steps for pacifists to place much hope in obtaining their policy through the Labour Party.

WHETHER the results of the Imperial Conference which finally emerge when it closes on Tuesday may be regarded as helping toward the peace of the world depends almost entirely upon the extent to which they represent a faster binding of the interests of the Empire as a whole or any of its component parts.

The delegates' discussion last week of the reform of the League of Nations "showed a general agreement that the League must be maintained as a vital factor for the preservation of the peace of the world." That this meant, as it ought to mean, a determination to use the League for its legitimate purpose of "the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world" again is unlikely to the extent that the rest of their discussions have been concerned with aggravating those conditions by any strengthening of imperialism.

If pacifists prove to have failed in their attempts to impress upon their own representatives that they desired the Imperial Conference to consider peace rather than imperial interests, they must make it even plainer to the Government that they will not support them in the war policy that is part of imperialism.

HOW explain the amazing discovery by Signor Mussolini recently that we ought to have a conference for the limitation of arms, lest their uneconomic character and the obstructions to normal trade which their manufacture entails lead us to war, if not by the fact that the economic burden is creating difficulties for him?

These must indeed be real difficulties to change his boast that "Fascism does not admit either the possibility or the desirability of perpetual peace," into "Italy desires peace . . . for a long time," as he has now said.

But if such practical considerations were indeed to have the effect of averting war, it would not be the end of our work but merely a chance to tackle more calmly the real task of making peace.

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EDUCATIONAL

RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL is the guiding motive of education at Sherwood School, Burgh Heath Road, Epsom. Junior House, 3-9 years. Senior House, 9-18 years. Vacancies in September for two boarders.

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EXHIBITION

YOUTH EXHIBITION—peace and internationalism—June 14 to 19, daily 7 to 11. Meetings daily, 8 p.m. Drama, films, concert, garden party. Admission 6d. Youth House, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1.

HOLIDAYS

CYCLE ABROAD with I.T.T. holiday tours in Bavaria, Black Forest, Brittany, Thuringia, and Norway under experienced voluntary direction at bare cost. Limited mixed parties. Stamp for programme to 6 Bainbrigge Road, Leeds, 6. Eighth season.

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MEETINGS

"SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM"
"LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY"
"ACTA NON VERBA"

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Notting Hill Gate.

Rev. Will Hayes: June 13—"The New Pacifists."

POSTERS

PEACE POSTERS for the times. Samples on application to the Secretary, Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.

RAMBLES

ESSEX RAMBLING CLUB (men and women)—for enjoyable walking with good fellowship.—Cyril M. Bower, 44 Linden Street, Romford.

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AUSTRIAN PEACE-WORKER'S Holiday-Home. Alpine Lake-District, wonderful walks, tours. Swimming. Friendliness. Vegetarian cooking if desired. July to September many vacancies. £2 10s. inclusive. Fare £6 2s.—Moll, Agathaschmiede, Steeg/Hallstaettersee, Austria.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

June

12 (Sat.) 3.30 p.m. King Alfred School, North End Road, **GOLDERS GREEN**; J. Cuthbert Wigham at garden party; F.O.R.

13 (Sun.) 3 p.m. Rose Lawn, Broomfield Park, **SOUTHGATE**; Rev. B. C. Hopson at united peace demonstration; Wood Green and Southgate Women's Arbitration Committee & League of Nations Union.

7.30 p.m. Bull Ring, **BIRMINGHAM**; Open-air meeting on "The Constructive Christian Pacifist Attitude to War"; No More War Movement.

7.30 p.m. Forest Land, Bushwood, **LEYTONSTONE**; Rev. R. W. Sorensen, Alderman Mrs. Shimmin, and John P. Fletcher at peace demonstration; P.P.U. 7.45 p.m. Whitefields Mount, **BLACKHEATH**; Open-air meeting; P.P.U.

14 (Mon.) 7.30 p.m. Schoolrooms, Congregational Church, **ELY**; John Barclay on "Pacifism—Personal Responsibility," at inaugural meeting of the Ely group; P.P.U. 8 p.m. Borough Hall, **STAFFORD**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Miss Vera Brittain, and Canon Stuart Morris on "The case for constructive peace"; P.P.U.

14—19 (Mon.—Sat.) Youth House, 250 Camden Road, **LONDON, N.W.1**; Youth Exhibition; Youth House.

16 (Wed.) 8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY**, London, W.C.2; open-air meeting arranged by Methodist Peace Fellowship.

8.15 p.m. 115 High Street, **OXFORD**; Vera Brittain; Oxford University Pacifist Association.

17 (Thurs.) 1.10-2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4**; Miss Thorneycroft (Barrister-at-law) on "Pacifism and International Law"; City P.P.U. group.

7.30 p.m. 445 Liverpool Road, **ISLINGTON**; John Barclay on "Practical Pacifism"; Old Owenian Progressive Society.

19 (Sat.) 3 p.m. Yeovil Athletic Ground, Huish, **YEOVIL**; Dr. Alfred Salter, Gerald Bailey, Howard Whitehouse, R. L. Brett, and Gerald Heard (chairman) at peace rally; Wessex Pacifist Council.

3.30 p.m. "Hardene," Lanchester Road, **HIGHGATE**; Maurice L. Rowntree at garden party; F.O.R. 4 and 6.15 p.m. Bramley Hall Farm, **APPERKNOWLE**; Nigel Spottiswoode at summer school; P.P.U.

19 and 20 (Sat. and Sun.) National Youth Peace Days arranged by British Youth Peace Assembly.

Parsons Fight O.T.C. Proposal

A stiff fight against a proposal to form an O.T.C. in the High School for boys has been put up at Cardiff in which the foremost part was taken by two ministers, the Revs. R. J. Jones and R. M. Roberts.

These two ministers voiced the convictions of numerous parents, the proposal only being adopted on the casting vote of the chairman.

TAKING PACIFISM OUTDOORS

The local Methodist Peace Fellowship have held a week of peace meetings in Kingsway Hall, Holborn, and now they are taking their pacifism outside. The first outside meeting was held on Wednesday at Wild Court, Holborn, at 8 p.m. Meetings will be held at the same time and place on all subsequent Wednesdays.

DISARM THE NURSERY

"One of the most unhappy effects of the Government's rearmament programme is the revived popularity of children's toys of military character among manufacturers and dealers," said Mr. Edward Fuller, of the Save the Children Fund, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, on Wednesday.

A toy farmyard is attractive—and no doubt as profitable to the producer and dealer—as a toy military camp, and if model postmen, policemen, and railway workers were on sale they would find as ready a market as model soldiers.

"We must disarm the nursery," he said, "if we really want our children to grow up to believe in friendship between all nations and peoples."

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